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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
-----C2325F 041433Z /38

O 041429Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8103

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 002474

DEPT FOR AF - AMBASSADOR FRIEDMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: 5/3/05
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE FOLLOWING IS FOR YOUR COMMENTS/CLEARANCE.

BEGIN TEXT:
SUBJECT: AMB. FRIEDMAN'S CONSULTATIONS WITH DUTCH ON
- RWANDA

REF: THE HAGUE 2296

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: DURING A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION AT THE
MFA, DUTCH OFFICIALS TOLD AMBASSADOR FRIEDMAN:
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-- THE GON HAS ONLY TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED PART OF ITS AID, AND WILL RESUME BASED ON GOR'S HANDLING OF THE KIBEHO INQUIRY;

-- THE NETHERLANDS SUPPORTS THE EXTENSION OF UNAMIR, PREFERABLY WITH AN EXPANDED MANDATE;

-- MINISTER PRONK FAVORS CONVENING A POLITICAL CONFERENCE (ENVISAGED BY THE BUJUMBURA CONFERENCE) THAT TAKES A REGIONAL APPROACH TO PROBLEMS;

-- HE IS ALSO STILL ACTIVELY CONSIDERING UNDERTAKING THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS;

-- THE EU SEES A WILLINGNESS BY KINSHASA TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE VIS-A-VIS RWANDA TO IMPROVE ZAIRE'S NEGATIVE IMAGE. THIS MIGHT ALLOW THE WEST TO PRESSURE KINSHASA ON ILLEGAL ARMS SHIPMENTS; AND

-- THE NETHERLANDS SUPPORTS CONTINUATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. END SUMMARY.

KIBEHO - DUTCH SUSPENSION OF AID

2. AMBASSADOR FRIEDMAN HAD A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION MAY 2 WITH RWANDA EXPERTS FROM THE MFA AND MINISTRY OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION (AID). REVIEWING HIS IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS TRIP TO RWANDA, FRIEDMAN CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS UP TO THE GOR -- BY THE WAY IT REACTS -- TO
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DECIDE WHETHER THE EVENTS AT KIBEHO UNDERMINE ITS CREDIBILITY. IN THIS REGARD THE HANDLING OF THE KIBEHO INQUIRY WILL BE KEY. THE DUTCH AGREED, SAYING THE GON WAS SENDING TO EXPERTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INVESTIGATION. A SATISFACTORY INQUIRY, WITH FOLLOW-ON ACTIONS WILL BE A KEY TO A FULL RESUMPTION OF DUTCH AID.

3. DUTCH OFFICIALS REVIEWED FOR FRIEDMAN MINISTER

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PRONK'S DECISION TO SUSPEND A PORTION OF DUTCH ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA IN RESPONSE TO KIBEHO. THEY STRESSED THAT THE DECISION ONLY DELAYED HALF OF THE GON'S DOLS 11 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO UNDP, WHICH IS ONLY ONE PART OF THE TOTAL DUTCH ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (REFTEL). THIS NONETHELESS PROVOKED A FURIOUS RESPONSE BY THE GOR. IN A MAY 3 PARLIAMENTARY HEARING, PRONK ARGUED THAT THE STIFF DUTCH RESPONSE -- ALONG WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL CRIES OF OUTRAGE -- HAD A SOBERING EFFECT ON THE GOR AND MAY ACCOUNT IN PART FOR ITS CURRENT CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH.

UNAMIR - EXPANDED MANDATE?

4. THE DUTCH SAID THEY DID NOT BLAME UNAMIR IN ANY WAY FOR KIBEHO, AND IN FACT ARGUED THAT THE AFTERMATH OF THE APRIL 22 EVENTS COULD HAVE BEEN MUCH WORSE HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE PRESENCE OF UNAMIR AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL GROUPS. THE GON SUPPORTS AN EXTENSION OF INTERNATIONAL GROUPS. THE GON SUPPORTS AN EXTENSION OF
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THE UNAMIR MANDATE, AS WELL AS ITS POSSIBLE EXPANSION TO HANDLE BORDER MONITORING AND OTHER TASKS. THEY DID NOT THINK THE TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT SHOULD BE CHANGED, HOWEVER. FRIEDMAN NOTED THAT THE "WHAT" OF AN EXPANDED MANDATE MUST BE FILLED OUT BY A "HOW," EG, HOW ARE BORDERS TO BE MONITORED. ASKED FOR THE GOR'S CURRENT STANCE ON UNAMIR, FRIEDMAN SAID LEADERS, INCLUDING VP KAGAME, WERE NOW INDICATING A WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW UNAMIR TO STAY. HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE RESISTANCE WITHIN THE GOR, HOWEVER, TO AN EXPANSION OF ITS MANDATE.

POLITICAL CONFERENCE

5. MINISTER PRONK STONGLY FAVORS CONVENING A POLITICAL CONFERENCE, ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED AS THE FOLLOW-ON TO

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-----C23267 041434Z /38

O 041429Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8104

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 002474

DEPT FOR AF - AMBASSADOR FRIEDMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: 5/3/05
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THE BUJUMBURA CONFERENCE. PRONK WOULD LIKE TO SEE A
REGIONAL APPROACH, DEALING NOT ONLY WITH RWANDA, BUT

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THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AS WELL. ASKED IF SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE USEFUL, FRIEDMAN SAID YES, IF IT REAFFIRMED THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF THE BUJUMBURA CONFERENCE.

STILL WEIGHING RECONCILIATION IDEA

6. AMB. FRIEDMAN MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR THE DUTCH TO TAKE UP OUR IDEA OF LEADING A NATIONAL RECONCILIATION EFFORT. OFFICIALS RESPONDED THAT MINISTER PRONK IS
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STILL CONSIDERING IT. SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS REMAIN, HOWEVER, INCLUDING WHO ON THE HUTU SIDE THERE IS TO TALK TO. FRIEDMAN SAID HE HAS BEEN EXPLORING THIS PROBLEM AND HOPED TO HAVE A LIST SOON OF CREDIBLE HUTUS, UNTAINTED BY GENOCIDE BUT WITH POLITICAL WEIGHT, THAT HE COULD SHARE WITH THE GON. FRIEDMAN RECOGNIZED THIS RECONCILIATION EFFORT WOULD BE SLOW AND REQUIRE PATIENCE. NONETHELESS, IF STARTED ON A SMALL SCALE, PERHAPS WORKING WITH NGO'S OR THE CHURCH TO FOCUS ON DEVELOPING CIVIL SOCIETY IN A COUPLE OF PLACES, SUCCESS IS POSSIBLE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT GIVE UP ON RECONCILIATION; THE ALTERNATIVE IS HUGE REFUGEE POPULATIONS AS A SOURCE OF DOMESTIC AND REGIONAL INSTABILITY FOR YEARS, IF NOT DECADES. THE DUTCH PUT EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR JUSTICE BEFORE RECONCILIATION CAN GO FORWARD. FRIEDMAN COUNTERED THAT BOTH MUST GO FORWARD TOGETHER.

ARMS - WORKING ON ZAIRE

7. AMB. FRIEDMAN AND THE DUTCH AGREED ON THE NEED TO SHARE INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS ON ARMS DELIVERIES TO RWANDA, IN PART SIMPLY TO SEPARATE FACT FROM FICTION. AT THAT POINT, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO AGREE ON ACTIONS TO BE TAKE, SUCH AS PUTTING AN UNAMIR PRESENCE AT AIRPORTS OR DEMARCHING NEIGHBORING GOVERNMENTS TO HELP STEM THE

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FLOW OF ARMS. AN MFA OFFICIAL SAID THE EU FEELS THE
NEW GOVERNMENT IN KINSHASA IS EAGER TO USE RWANDA AS A
MEANS TO IMPROVE ITS NEGATIVE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE -- IN
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PART BECAUSE IT IS EAGER TO RECEIVE EU ASSISTANCE
FUNDS. THIS MIGHT PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE WEST
TO PRESSURE ZAIRE TO ACCEPT MONITORS AT AIRPORTS WHERE
ARMS ARE REPORTEDLY COMING IN.

HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

8. THE GON ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS
HAD RECEIVED MIXED REVIEWS AND IS SENDING OUT AN
EVALUATION TEAM NEXT WEEK TO ASSESS THE MONITORS'
EFFECTIVENESS AND TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE TASKS.
NONETHELESS, THE DUTCH THINK THE STARTUP OF EVERY HUMAN
RIGHTS OPERATION IS A LEARNING PROCESS, WHICH TAKES
TIME BEFORE IT RUNS SMOOTHLY. THE MONITOR MISSION IN
RWANDA IS TOO SERIOUS AN INITIATIVE IN WHICH TOO MUCH
TIME AND MONEY HAS BEEN INVESTED NOT TO MAKE GOOD USE
OF IT. THUS, THE GON HOPES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
WILL MAKE THE REQUIRED EFFORT TO MAKE THE MISSION
EFFECTIVE.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

9. THE GON OFFICIALS REPEATED WHAT JUSTICE GOLDSTONE
HAD TOLD AMB. FRIEDMAN EARLIER, THAT THE NETHERLANDS
WILL CONTRIBUTE DOLS 1 MILLION AND IS CONSIDERING THE
REQUEST FOR UP TO 21 INVESTIGATORS FOR THE RWANDA
TRIBUNAL. THEY ARE NOT SURE THEY CAN FIND 21 FULLY
QUALIFIED INVESTIGATORS TO BE RELEASED.

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